1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MB10

K 562 701 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.[1]

K 571 799 Among the nomad and peasant Kûrds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kûrds in Suleimanieh and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.

K [212] The wives and daughters of the lettered Kûrds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kûrdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language. The Kûrdish tongue

K 147 is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of

K 527 Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kûrdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y 571 763 542 The members of the Yezîdi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[1] Rawlinson, *Six Monarchies*, p. 130.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imâms of their own race, Kûrdish Mullahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for sanctity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

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lies, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. 565
Beneath them are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and laborers. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tents or houses, while others have immense fortunes and estates. Arab leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kurdish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their ranks and titles are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, Arab or Kurd, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is nominally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, laborers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes enters upon a new and loftier status, be- 545
coming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage 212
in menial labor, nor the uses of his inferiors. Only 871
certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is 555
the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower 565
classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and thus honor them, and they endure great sacrifices to this [871]
end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "degrading" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families who have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lower government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with unemployed merchants and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

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ay technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an MP, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissensions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

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Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowandus area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowandus only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Emin'Ali

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[209] [57]

[212] [19]

Both festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the shaʿi, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, perrawʿi, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shawaʿi, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and rawtin "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Syrian, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

knowledge of rutin. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Hawaii," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in consulting the records on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rwanda and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat.

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or influence occasionally elect even to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is called Sheila who is also the corpse-washer, ninety piastres for the women. She enjoys her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with saying the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the shahada arranges other matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employs a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for the cleanliness. The mullā himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the commoners, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Mullā 'Abd al-Ghafūr had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

The mullā are responsible for religious education, however, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mullā hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have completed other courses with their secular education may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and then exhibit, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Bawanism enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor people from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of pollution, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

G. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

If, therefore, the object of the exercise is removed from the home, as [illegible] behind for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[7] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stocks[8] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child become a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater security than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activity	I Village of Penjwin		II Penjwin		III Unmixed urban		IV Unmixed urban	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	○		○		△		▽	
Work outside home			▽	▽				▽
Schooling		▽			△	△	△	△
Street life		○		○		○	▽	▽

A common to girls in all four female environments is enclosure in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help in the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys existing in the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban milieu the boys are sent young to school to learn like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and in the event that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

adulthood that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I sense anyon[illegible] in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6-7 years of age, led in fulsomeness what we should call a street life. Play-grounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, as in any Moslem society, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the house. As work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[39] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sura 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..... and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dohuk Daza Shu with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[40].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[41]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law of the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[42]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[43], are: father's brother's daughter, amidal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pûrzâ, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xâlzâ, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pûrzâ, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[44] and Barth[45] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tuparaw the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergaly. In Sirkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Lynch the marriages of village leaders "tend to have political influence" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[46]. In my experience this was not so, for the most I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taffer's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 12 year old son of the Sheikh of Tuparaw said further that a man in his tuffen was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that we speak here

...ever tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy patrols who are still alive have been reformed by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and lower ranks.

Whatever the mistakes and shortcomings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the aspirations of the Kurds ... are officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the Mutasarrif of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

misleading to speak of an initiate course organizers in the same way as known is in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as for all village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Two traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a regular norm.

The position of mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for Mullahs and Imams to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their economic ties in connection. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a modestly situated family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unqualified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a circuit is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

appointed was pr. head in the village, possibly at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. This frequently must be augmented by agricultural work on the part of the mullah. It seems that the villagers are free to appoint any personal mullah of their choice to office; once he is appointed, however, it is, as here in practice, impossible to dismiss him.

The actual role of the village mullah is evidently today in a state of rapid change, and considerably reduced as compared to Ottoman times. He has been relieved of a great number of his civil functions — e. g. marriages are not valid unless a license has been procured from the civil administration, and though the mullah still performs the ceremony, his importance is generally reduced. The very dominant position as judge has also been greatly reduced by the establishment of the more and effective administration of Iraq's civil code.

A second role is that of the educator — the mullah will give religious instruction to the boys in the form of important villagers — the only education they will ever have, as well as many also have advanced students visiting him for a period. Though the attaining a certain knowledge of the religion, however, this school of the mullah's does not seem to be of any great consequence, and the mullah himself remains the only literate person in the village.

His main role as power parallels that of the priest in Western society, in that it is concerned predominantly with religious questions in a largely secular world. The mullah calls to morning and evening prayer, gives a sermon on Friday, is especially active in the holy month of Ramadan. In all his activities, he should act as example to his villagers. The weight given to his opinions thus depends on his learning and personal piety, but at the same time, if they are developed to any appreciable degree, these same traits will tend to separate him physically and emotionally from the community and place him in the position of a spectator.

Consequently, he does not achieve the power position in the village that one might have expected. The mullah with low rating on the scale of learning and piety will be disregarded by the villagers — they may not even attend his services, as in the case of one village studied, where the services had been largely discontinued and the

635 [illegible]

635 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

635 [illegible]

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understand how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalism everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, warm face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians [illegible] he did the ancient Medes [illegible] himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Sulaimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Shewe* and *Hiwa*.* All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

* A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Kurdish period, such as *Dangawej* and *Nishtiman*, official organs of the party, which had a printery of Kurdish as the latter was established in Iraq as well as Iran.